

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 088490

O 061934Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5816

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 29515

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAMUEL LEWIS FROM US EXBD
MEMBER ROBERT KAMM

NESCO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: UNESCO, PORG, OCON

SUBJECT: 100TH SESSION OF UNESCO EXBD: ITEM 7.3: MOVE
 TO EXCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA FROM INTERGOVERNMENTAL
 OCEANOGRAPHIC COMMISSION (IOC)

REF: STATE 247856

1. VOTE ON THIS ITEM, PROGRAM AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS
(PX) COMMISSION OF EXBD, WHICH TOOK PLACE THIS MORNING
AFTER ARRIVAL OF THE REFERENCED TELEGRAM WAS 19 IN
FAVOR TO NONE AGAINST, WITH 9 ABSTENTIONS (EC-9 MEMBERS
PLUS AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN). I DID NOT PARTI-
CIPATE IN VOTE, BUT AFTERWARD MADE STATEMENT STRESSING
OUR WELL KNOWN ABHORANCE OF APARTHEID, REITERATED ON
MANY OCCASIONS, RECENTLY, BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND
EXPLAINING THAT I DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTE
BECAUSE I WAS SEEKING TO CLARIFY MY INSTRUCTIONS AND IN
MEANTIME RESERVED MY POSITION PENDING ACTION ON THIS
ITEM BY BOARD IN PLENARY SESSION EARLY NEXT WEEK.

2. IN STATEMENTS FOLLOWING VOTE ALL THOSE ABSTAINING
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BASED THEIR VOTE, AT LEAST IN PART, ON PRINCIPLE OF

"UNIVERSALITY". JAPAN, UK, FRG, FRANCE, ITALY, NORWAY, AND BELGIUM POINTED OUT NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING UNIVERSAL MEMBERSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHERE PEOPLE OF OPPOSING POLITICAL BELIEFS CAN MEET TOGETHER. NORWEGIAN, FRG, AND FRENCH DELS. STRESSED IMPLICATION WHICH "EXCLUSION" OR "EXPULSION" ULTIMATELY COULD HAVE FOR THE UN SYSTEM IF TAKEN TO LOGICAL CONCLUSION. IN ADDITION, BELGIAN DEL. ASKED IF ISSUE DID NOT MERIT FURTHER STUDY TO DETERMINE IF SOUTH AFRICA'S EXCLUSION WOULD NOT DAMAGE EFFICIENCY OF IOC AND THUS WEIL-BEING OF OTHER IOC MEMBERS. AUSTRIAN DEL. CORRECTLY POINTED OUT THAT DRAFT RESOLUTION AS AMENDED WAS CLEARLY OPEN TO DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS AND THAT HE HAD ABSTAINED RESERVING RIGHT TO RECONSIDER ISSUE AFTER IT IS RAISED AGAIN AND CLARIFIED AT FUTURE SESSIONS. ALL WHO ABSTAINED STRESSED GOVERNMENTS' ABHORENCE AND OPPOSITION TO RACISM AND APARTHEID AND MOST REFERRED TO NATIONAL POLICIES SUPPORTING NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

3. COUNTERING THESE ARGUMENTS, BLACK AFRICAN DELEGATES ARGUED FORCIBLY FOR NECESSITY OF ISOLATING THOSE WHO PRACTICE RACISM AND APARTHEID AND UPROOTING IT. GHANA'S DELEGATE SQUARED OFF SAYING HE AND MANY OTHERS WERE COMMITTED TO UPROOTING RACISM AND APARTHEID EVEN IF THIS REQUIRED THEM TO GO OUTSIDE THE LAW. ZAIRE'S DELEGATE, SHARING PERHAPS MORE INTELLECTUAL RESTRAINT, SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE FAVORS PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THAT UNIVERSALITY IS VALID ONLY IF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ARE ACCEPTED BY EVERYONE. THROUGH ITS POLICIES AND ATTITUDES SOUTH AFRICA HAD IN FACT EXCLUDED ITSELF FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THUS BY CHOICE HAD TO BEAR BURDEN OF THIS SELF-INFLICTED EXCLUSIONS. KENYA'S DELEGATE ALSO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FAVORED PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALISM, BUT THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD ISOLATED ITSELF AND THIS DECISION MUST BE RECOGNIZED IN REMOVING IT FROM PARTICIPATION IN IOC. NONETHELESS, HE (KENYA) INTRO-

DUCED AMENDMENT TO DR WHICH REWORDED PHRASE "EXCLUDING
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SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE IOC" TO "EXCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA FROM ALL ACTIVITIES AND MEETINGS OF THE IOC" THUS GIVING RISE TO ONE INTERPRETATION THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD RETAIN STRICTLY NOMINAL MEMBERSHIP IN IOC THOUGH NOT ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN MEETINGS AND ACTIVITIES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 29515

EXDIS

BOSSIER-PALUN (BENIN) EXPRESSED VIEW THAT AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICA IS A MEMBER OF UN IT CANNOT LEGALLY BE EXCLUDED FROM IOC. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS ABSOLUTELY OBJECTIONABLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO SIT IN IOC.

4. MY PERSONAL DECISION TO POSTPONE ACTION ON THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AT THIS POINT OF BOARD'S CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT ITEM WAS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS: (A) PX COMMISSION IS SUBSIDIARY BODY OF BOARD WHICH ABOUT ONE-FOURTH OF MEMBERS DID NOT TAKE PART. VOTE WAS THEREFORE ONLY OF PRELIMINARY NATURE, WITH FINAL VOTE TAKING PLACE NEXT WEEK IN PLENARY SESSION. (B) SOUNDINGS LAST NIGHT AND THIS MORNING MADE IT CLEAR THAT NO OTHER MEMBER WOULD OPPOSE RESOLUTION AND U.S. WOULD BE COMPLETELY ISOLATED, (C) AT SAME TIME, DEBATE YESTERDAY EVENING REVEALED HOW INTENSELY VISCERAL (TERM USED BY BOSSIER-PALUN) FEELINGS OF THIRD WORLD (PARTICULARLY AFRICAN MEMBERS) WERE ON THIS ISSUE OF APARTHEID. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I DECIDED IT WAS IN BEST INTERESTS OF U.S. FOR ME NOT TO COMMIT U.S., AT POINT WHEN COMMITMENT WAS NOT NECESSARY, TO A POSITION THAT MIGHT NOT ACCURATELY REFLECT RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ALL VALUES INVOLVED, IN ORDER TO GIVE DEPARTMENT ADDITIONAL TIME TO ANALYZE WHAT HAD BEEN A RAPIDLY DEVELOPING AND OFTEN UNCLEAR SITUATION, AND TO COME TO A DECISION AS TO WHAT OUR POSITION SHOULD BE, IN LIGHT OF FACTORS REPORTED IN THIS TELEGRAM. I TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS

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DECISION. MY PARTICULAR CONCERN TO AVOID IN ANY WAY
IMPAIRING SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EFFORTS TO SEEK PEACEFUL
SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

5. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT A NEGATIVE VOTE ON MY PART
WOULD HAVE DEEPLY OFFENDED AFRICAN MEMBERS. AT THE
SAME TIME, IT DID NOT SEEM TO ME THAT TECHNICAL BENEFITS
THAT MIGHT RESULT FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED PARTICI-
PATION IN IOC WERE IN THEMSELVES OF SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE
TO JUSTIFY THIS. IF I HAD OFFERED THIS IN EXPLANATION,
I FEAR U.S. WOULD HAVE BEEN SEVERELY CRITICIZED FOR
INSENSITIVITY TO AFRICAN FEELINGS AND TO WORLD INDIGNA-
TION REGARDING APARTHEID AND ANY STATEMENT THAT I MADE
CONCERNING OUR OWN GENUINE ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID AND
ALL FORMS OF RACISM WOULD HAVE LACKED CREDIBILITY.

6. AS TO ALTERNATIVE GROUNDS FOR A NEGATIVE VOTE, I

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5818

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 29515

EXDIS

RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT NOT BASE ITS POSITION ON
NARROW LEGAL CONCERNS, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE (GENERAL
CONFERENCE MIGHT BE DIFFERENT MATTER), SINCE IN MY
OPINION THE RESOLUTION DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY

THAT AN EFFORT COULD BE MADE TO PREVENT SOUTH AFRICA FROM PARTICIPATING IN IOC BY LEGAL PROCESS (I.E., AMENDING IOC STATUTES). IN ACTUAL FACT -- AS MENTIONED BY MANY MEMBERS IN EXPLAINING THEIR ABSTENTIONS -- LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESOLUTION ARE FAR FROM CLEAR. EVEN ONE SOVIET MEMBER CALLED ATTENTION TO THIS IN QUESTION DIRECTED TO LEGAL ADVISER LUSSIER, WHO PROMPTLY AND DEFTLY SIDESTEPED IT.

7. AS I SEE IT, PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY -- CITED BY NEARLY ALL MEMBERS THAT ABSTAINED AS THEIR PRINCIPAL REASON -- IS NOT ONLY IMPORTANT BUT IS CLEARLY AT ISSUE.

8. IN DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY MERITS A NEGATIVE VOTE, AS OPPOSED TO AN ABSTENTION, I HOPE DEPARTMENT WILL FAVORABLY CONSIDER ADVANTAGES TO U.S. OF JOINING WITH OTHER WEO'S IN ABSTAINING, AT LEAST IN THIS FORUM, DESPITE FACT THAT WE VOTED AGAINST SIMILAR RESOLUTION AT 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCE.
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